### 3. Laws of the Family and the Clan

614 1. It is forbidden to marry a person belonging to the same umulyango, whatever the degree [of relationship]. Only the Abanyiginya, the clan from which the kings come, may marry [11] within their [own] inzu (1) and a fortiori into the other imilyango.

1. The reason for this endogamy must be sought in the fact that, according to legend, Kigwa married his sister Nyampundu.

However, marriage is forbidden with the Abatshyaba, the Abungura, and the Abakomankali. They usually marry the Abega.

The Abega (the family providing the queens), the Abagessera, the Abakono, the Abaha, and the Abasinga may not marry within their [own] umulyango nor into the other inzu. They are allowed to marry the Abunguru and Abakomankali, but not the Abatshyaba.

[426] [672] 2. The active and passive solidarity [joint and separate liability] in the matter of debts exists only on the paternal side (iwabo wa se) and not in the mother's umulyango (iwabo wa nyina).

The same is true in penal matters unless it is a case of a blood debt.

### 4. Table of Names Indicating Relationship through Kinship and Marriage

• 601 Those who are members of the same umulyango are called abagil'ichyobahuriycho, abagil' ichyobapfana, or, and it is the most frequently used and most precise term, abafit'isano.

Husband: umugabo
Wife: umugore
The husband of two wives: umugabo z'ishyali
One of the wives speaking of the other: umukeba wa njye
The husband speaking of one or the other [of the wives]: umukeba we

Son:
1) When the mother speaks: umuhungu wa njye
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umuhungu wa mukeba wa njye or umuhungu w'umugabo wa njye

•601 Daughter:

1) When the mother speaks: umukobga wa njye [12]
2) When another wife of the father speaks: umukobga w'umukeba wa njye

Father: data
Mother: mama } Parents: ababyeyi

The second wife of my father: muka data
Each of the other wives of my father: muka data

Brothers and sisters:

A. — Of the same father and the same mother: abo tuv'indimwe kwa data na mama

a) Brother (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye (big brother)
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye (little brother)
3) Twin: uwo dusangiye data na mama

b) Sister (a boy speaks):
1) Eldest: mushiki manjye mukuru
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto
3) Twin: mushiki wanjye (implying, twavutse impanga)

a) Brother (a girl speaks):
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto
3) Twin: uwo (implying, twavutse impanga)

b) Sister (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye
2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye
3) Twin: uwo (implying, twavutse impanga)

B. — Of the same father and different mothers: bene data

a) Brother (a boy speaks):
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data

b) Sister (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data

a) Brother (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data

• 601 b) Sister (a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data
2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data [13]

C. — Of the same mother and different fathers:
a) Brother ( a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama
2) Younger brother: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama
b) Sister (a boy speaks)
1) Eldest: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama
2) Younger sister: mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama
a) Brother ( a girl speaks)
1) Eldest: musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama
2) Younger brother: musaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama
b) Sister ( a girl speaks):
1) Eldest: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama
2) Younger sister: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama

Paternal grandfather: sogokuru
Paternal grandmother: nyogokuru
Maternal grandfather: sogokuro ubyara mama
Maternal grandmother: nyogokuru ubyara mama
Grandchildren: abuzukuru

Paternal great-grandfather: sogokuruza
Paternal great-grandmother: nyogokuruza
Maternal great-grandfather: sogokuruza ubyara mama
Maternal great-grandmother: nyogokuruza ubyara mama
Great-grandchildren: abuzukuruza

Paternal uncle: sewabo (or tata wachu
Paternal aunt: masenge
Nephew (son of my brother) (a man speaks): umuhungu wachu
Niece (daughter of my brother) umukobwa wachu
Maternal uncle: marume (my uncle), nyirarume (his uncle)
Maternal aunt: mama wachu
Nephew (son of my sister) (a man speaks) umwishywa
Niece (daughter of my sister) (a man speaks): umwishywa m'umukobwa [14]

Nephew (the paternal aunt speaks): mwisengeneza wanjye
Nephew (the maternal aunt speaks): umwana wanjye

601

Niece (the paternal aunt speaks): mwisengeneza wanjye

Sons and daughters of the paternal uncle (cousins): bene data wachu

a) Cousin ( a boy speaks)
1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: mwene data wachu

b) Girl cousin ( a boy speaks):
1) Older: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: mushiki wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: mushiki wanjye wo kwa data wachu

a) Cousin ( a girl speaks):
1) Older: musaza wanjye mukuru wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: musaza wanjye muto wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: musaza wanjye wo kwa data wachu

b) Girl cousin (a girl speaks):
1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo kwa data wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo kwa data wachu
3) Of the same age: umuvanadimwe wo kwa data wachu, or more simply, mwene data wachu

Sons and daughters of the paternal aunt (cousins): ababyara bo kwa masenge (1)

Niece (the maternal aunt speaks): umwana wanjye

Sons and daughters of the maternal aunts: (cousins): ababyara

a) Cousin ( a boy speaks)
Older: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: mwene mama wachu

b) Girl cousin ( a boy speaks):
1) Older: mushiki wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: mushiki wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: mushiki wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

a) Cousin (a girl speaks):
1) Older: musaza wanjye mukuru wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: musaza wanjye muto wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: musaza wanjye wo mwa mama wachu [16]

b) Girl cousin (a girl speaks):
1) Older: mukuru wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
2) Younger: murumuna wanjye wo mwa mama wachu
3) Of the same age: uwo wanjye wo mwa mama wachu

Sons and daughters of the maternal uncle (cousins): ababyara bo marume (1)

1. These are not distinguished by age nor

• 661 whether a boy or a girl speaks of the children of his or her paternal aunt or his or her maternal uncle.

Paternal great-uncle: sogokuruza
Maternal great-uncle: sogokuruza wo mwa mama
Paternal great-aunt: nyogokuruza wo kwa data
Maternal great-aunt: nyogokuruza wo mwa mama
Great-nephews: abuzukuruza

Father-in-law (father of my wife): databukwe
Mother-in-law (mother of my wife): mabukwe

Father-in-law (father of my husband): databukwe
Mother-in-law (mother of my husband): mabukwe

Son-in-law (husband of my daughter):
A man speaks: umukwe
A woman speaks: umukwe wanjye
Daughter-in-law (wife of my son):
A man speaks: umukazana
A woman speaks: umukwe wanjye [16]
Brother-in-law:
(a man speaks)
1) Husband of my sister: muramu wanjye
2) Brother of my wife: muramu
3) Husband of my wife's sister: musanzire wanjye
(A woman speaks)
1) Husband of my sister: muramu wanjye
2) Brother of my husband: umugabo wanjye
3) Husband of my husband's sister: muramu wachu
Sister-in-law:
(a man speaks)
1) Wife of my brother: umugore wachu
2) Sister of my wife: muramu
3) Wife of my wife's brother: umugore wa muramu wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: mukeba wa mushiki wanjye
(a woman speaks)
1) Wife of my brother: muramukazi

601 2) Sister of my husband: muramukazi wanjye
3) Wife of my husband's brother: mukeba wanjye
4) Second wife of my sister's husband: umugore wa muramu wanjye or mukeba w'uwo tuv'indimwe
Those who have married two sisters: abasanzire
Two men, each of whom has married the sister of the other: abaramu
Father of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my son-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my son-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my son-in-law: umwana wanjye
Father of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Mother of my daughter-in-law: bamwana wanjye
Brother of my daughter-in-law: umukwe wanjye
Sister of my daughter-in-law: umwana wanjye [17]

## 5. The Blood Pact

608 The blood pact (kunywana) is practiced throughout the whole of Ruanda and particularly by the Bahutu. Blood brothers (abanywanyi) can depend on each other completely. They must help each other in the most difficult circumstances of life and may even mutually dispose of their property (1) and their wives (2).

1. By special agreement.

2. With the consent of the wives.

The interested parties, each one assisted by a witness who will guarantee the other party's observation of the pact, sit down on a mat in the hut of one of them. Each of the witnesses cuts a leaf of coral erythrin (muko) and removes the stalk; he rolls the leaf into a cone shape and pours into it a little sorghum flour. Then with a small knife he makes an incision below the navel of the one he is assisting. He presses the sides of the cut to make the blood flow, collects it in the cone, and mixes it with the flour, using the leaf stalk. Then each party drinks the mixture called gihango (lit., blood) presented to him by the other's witness. The witnesses then pronounce imprecations (kutanga) in the name of their respective clients in order to seal the pact: "If you find me ill or wounded on the road and do not help me, may the gihango kill you."

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, basekuru, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; sekuru really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by sokuru.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, data wachu. More distant relatives are referred to as mwene wachu.

The term wachu used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as wanyu means "your" and wabo, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562 264 Position of Women. In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

| | Father's Side | Mother's Side |
|---|---|---|
| Ancestors | basekuru | |
| Great-grandfather, great-grandmother | sekuruza, nyinakuruza | sengeneza, nyinangeneza |
| Grandfather, grandmother | sekuru, nyinakuru | senge, nyinange |
| My (our) father, my (our) mother | data, mama | |
| Your (sing. and pl.) father, mother | so, nyoko | |
| His [or her] (their) father, mother | se, nyina | |
| My husband | mugabo wanye | |
| My wife | mugore wanye | |
| Son, daughter | umwana | |
| Grandchild | musukuru | |
| Great-grandchild | musukuruza | |
| Brother of my father, brother of my mother | data wachu | marumi |
| Brother of your father, brother of your mother | so wanyu | nyoko rumi |
| Brother of his [or her] father, brother of his mother | se wabo | nyina rumi |
| Sister of father, sister of my mother | nyina senge | mama wachu |
| Sister of your mother | | nyoko wanya |
| Sister of his [or her] mother | | nyina wabo |

(continued)

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| | Father's Side | Mother's Side |
|---|---|---|
| A boy says, "my sister" . . . . . | mushiki wanje | |
| A boy says, "my brother" . . . . . | mwene data | mwene nyina |
| A girl says, "my sister" . . . . . | mwene data | mwene nyina |
| A girl says, "my brother" . . . . . | musaza wanje | |

The children of two brothers call each other: mwene data wachu.
The children of the mother's brother are called: mwene marumi.
The children of the father's sister are called: babyara (singular: mubyara).
More distant cousins are also called: babyara.
The brother's son is called: umushungu wabo.
The brother's daughter is called: umugore wabo or umukobga wabo.
The uncle calls his sister's child: muishwa.
The grandfather calls his daughter's child: akamumuishwa.
The wife of my son is called: umukazana.
The father of my husband is called: sebukwe.
My wife's brother is called: umuramu.
My wife's sister is called: umuramukazi.

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794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

● [601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples, and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253 – Analyst]

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Umulyango appears to have been the group of living people who would have belonged to the same inzu if that primitive inzu had not split into new ones. This explains the fluidity of the use of the term. For instance the word 'Abareganshuro' (people of Mureganshuro) has meant first 'the members of the inzu of Mureganshuro'; then, after the splitting of that inzu, 'the members of the umulyango of Mureganshuro'. When an inzu divided into different new ones, the ancestor of the former one became the ancestor of the umulyango. Thus the umulyango link existed between members of different inzu having the same origin.

As may be expected, the strength of these links was quite different at the time of the splitting and a few generations afterwards. This accounts for the fact that in some cases the umulyango appears almost as a corporate group very similar to an inzu, and in other cases as a purely nominal group.

The span of life of an umulyango seems less defined than that of an inzu. It is doubtful, however, whether it was longer. Suppose inzu A splits into B and C and becomes umulyango A. Six generations later inzu B splits into inzu D and E and becomes umulyango B. At that time it is very likely that the primitive ancestor being twelve generations past will not be clearly remembered and that, except for some extraordinary reason, he will be superseded by the ancestor of umulyango B.

Descent groups in Ruanda were thus of two different types A permanent group, the ubwoko which fulfilled the definition of patriclan (if exogamy be excluded from that definition) and two temporary groups, inzu and umulyango, the second being rather the surviving shadow of the first. The latter were both patrilineages. As they were not segments in the same sense as among, e.g. the Nuer, it would be misleading to differentiate them according to the terminology of Evans-Pritchard.[7] We would suggest calling inzu a primary and umulyango a secondary patrilineage in order to convey the idea that the umulyango originated from the inzu and that the inzu's functions were more important for the individual and society at large than those of the umulyango.[8]

[7] Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 192-4.

[8] Members of the inzu were called *bavandimwe* (which primarily means sibling), agnatic relatives, *benemacu* and relatives, affines included, *abaca*.

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121 interactions of Ego and Alter once an organized system of interaction between themselves has become stabilized. 'Alter expects Ego to behave in given situational conditions in certain relatively specific ways, or at least within relatively specific limits.'[10]

613 Members of an inzu were supposed to have more confidence in each other and to be readier to help and sympathize with each other than with outsiders. Within the inzu itself, each member was expected to assume a certain role which defined, within narrow limits, expected behaviour towards other lineage members.

613 Before these intra-inzu roles are described, a list of kinship terms
601 used within the inzu to address or designate members, will be given. Some characteristics of these behaviour patterns are reflected in the terminology, as, for instance, the predominance within the lineage of the horizontal or generation principle of grouping over the vertical grouping by branches of the lineage.

601 Data will be presented first and implications analysed at a later stage. Our point of reference will be the conventional Ego. All the terms and their symbolizations are to be understood as relating to Ego who is a male (Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa). The same terms are used by a male as by a female, except where otherwise indicated: f.s. (female speaking) and m.s. (male speaking).

| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| *I. The generation of Ego's father* | | |
| Fa | Data | Data |
| FaBr | Data | Datawacu (father-our) |
| FaSi | Mama | Masenge (mother through father) |
| FaFaBrSo | Data | Datawacu |
| FaFaBrDa | Mama | Masenge |
| FaFaFaBrSoSo | Data | Datawacu |
| FaFaFaBrSoDa | Mama | Masenge |
| *II. The generation of Ego's grandfather* | | |
| FaFa | Sogokuru (kuru = great) | Sogokuru |
| FaFaBr | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| FaFaSi | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuru |
| FaFaFaBrSo | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| FaFaFaBrDa | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuru |
| *III. The generation of Ego's great-grandfather* | | |
| FaFaFa | Sogokuru | Sogokuruza |
| FaFaFaBr | Sogokuru | Sogokuruza |
| FaFaFaSi | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuruza |

[10] Parsons and Shils, 1951, p. 19.

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| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| *IV. The other generations above* | | |
| Ancestor | | Igisokuru |
| *V. Ego's generation* | | |
| Br, ♀ pat Br | Muvandinwe (from same womb) | Mwenedata (child of father) |
| YoBr, ♀ YoBr (pat) | Muvandimwe | Murumunawanjye (murumu = little) |
| ElBr, ♀ pat ElBr | Muvandimwe | Mukutuwahjye (mukuru = great) |
| Br (f.s.) | Muvandimwe | Musazawanjye (wanjye = my) |
| Si, ♂ pat Si | Muvandimwe | Mwenedata |
| YoSi, ♂ pat YoSi | Muvandimwe | Murumunawanjye |
| ElSi, ♂ pat ElSi | Muvandimwe | Mukurumwanjye (Mukuru = great) |
| Si (m.s.) | | Mushikiwanjye |
| FaBrSo | Muvandimwe | Mwenedatawacu (child of our Fa) |
| FaBrSo (f.s.) | | Musazawacu |
| FaBrDa | Muvandimwe | Mwenedatawacu |
| FaBrDa (m.s.) | | Mushikiwacu |
| FaFaBrSoSo | Muvandimwe | Mwenedatawacu |
| FaFaBrSoDa | Muvandimwe | Mwenedatawacu |
| FaFaFaBrSoSoSo | Muvandimwe | Mwenedatawacu |
| FaFaFaBrSoSoDa | Muvandimwe | Mwenedatawacu |
| *VI. The generation of Ego's son* | | |
| So | Mwana (child) | Muhunguwanjye (boy-my) |
| Da | Mwana (child) | Mukobwawanjye (girl-my) |
| BrSo (m.s.) | Mwana (child) | Muhunguwacu (boy-our) |
| BrSo (f.s.) | Mwana (child) | Musengenezawanjye |
| BrDa (m.s.) | Mwana (child) | Mukobwawacu (girl-our) |
| BrDa (f.s.) | Mwana (child) | Musengenezawanjye |
| FaBrSoSo (m.s.) | Mwana (child) | Muhunguwacu |
| FaBrSoSo (f.s.) | Mwana (child) | Muzengenezawacu |
| FaBrSoDa (m.s.) | Mwana (child) | Mukobwawacu |
| FaBrSoDa (f.s.) | Mwana (child) | Musengenezawacu |
| FaFaBrSoSoSo (m.s.) | Mwana (child) | Muhunguwacu |
| FaFaBrSoSoSo (f.s.) | Mwana (child) | Muzengenezawacu |
| FaFaBrSoSoDa (m.s.) | Mwana (child) | Mukobwawacu |
| FaFaBrSoSoDa (f.s.) | Mwana (child) | Muzengenezawacu |
| *VII. The generation of Ego's grandchildren* | | |
| SoSo | Mwana | Muzukuruwanjye |
| SoDa | Mwana | Muzukuruwanjye |
| BrSoSo | Mwana | Muzukuruwacu |
| BrSoDa | Mwana | Muzukuruwacu |
| FaBrSoSoSo | Mwana | Muzukuruwacu |
| FaBrSoSoDa | Mwana | Muzukuruwacu |

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| Role | Term of address | Term of reference |
|---|---|---|
| *VIII. The generation of Ego's great grandchildren* | | |
| SoSoSo | Mwana | Muzukuruza |
| SoSoDa | Mwana | Muzukuruza |
| *IX. The other generations under* | | |
| Descendant | | Ubuvivi[11] |

Let us now turn to the description of the most important of these roles.

During all his father's lifetime, Ego remained subject to his authority, though before puberty the young son was allowed to show some familiarity in his relations with his father. Even at that early age, however, the interests and comfort of his father predominated, and it seems that the weakness of a child was not considered a reason for giving him relatively more food and other comforts than his father. When he reached puberty and was initiated into the Ryangombe sect, he was treated more severely and had to behave as an obedient servant of his father. He could not go to sleep before his father, or get up after him in the morning, without permission. He had to stay near the gate of the fence, to close it at night and open it in the morning, instead of sitting near the fire. This was especially true among the Hutu who did not have servants. There the son had to tend the cattle (goats, sheep, and eventually cows) with the help of his sisters. His training in different men's activities was given to him by his father. Among the Tutsi, where such training included dancing, composition of poetry, and the use of weapons, different specialists were required. The training was given at the court of a chief or of the king. But even when separated from his father for a long time, the young Tutsi was expected to manifest the same attitude of obedience.

When his son was getting married, the father, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had to help him to pay the bride-wealth. Marriage did not change the son's attitude towards his father, who still had the right to inflict severe punishments if disobeyed. He could curse him, which amounted to complete ostracism and being obliged to flee to a region where he was not known and consequently where it was extremely difficult for him to make a living. The father could carry out less severe but more humiliating punishments, such as beating his son with a stick or preventing him from sleeping with his wife for some time by monopolizing her; (it should be noted that

[11] Compare with Vanhove, 1941, pp. 11-16.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhungumacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwamacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezamanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *umamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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activities of her husband's inzu and was not bound by all the obligations common to the members of her own inzu, a few words should be added about her behaviour in this connexion.

She participated in the cult of Ego's (= her husband's) ancestor and of her own ancestor, but she was not allowed to build a shrine in honour of her ancestor in Ego's enclosure. She gave the ritual gifts at the birth of a child in her own inzu as well as in Ego's inzu, and did the same at marriage ceremonies. In times of mourning, Ego's inzu was predominant: his wife had to practise sexual abstention for two or three months when Ego's parents died. For her own parents she was not bound by any such observances. She received protection from her husband's group, but from her own only when she had disputes with Ego's lineage

### 2. THE DESCENT GROUP OF EGO'S MOTHER

A man (or a woman) was not a member of his mother's patrilineage, which is why in the preceding section only his agnates were considered. But the picture of Ego's position in kinship relations would be incomplete if it were limited to that. Ego's mother's agnates were not complete strangers to him. In everyday life, he met them often and his culture provided him with roles to assume in these circumstances. In some cases Ego's behaviour to 'maternal' kin was very similar to that which he was expected to observe towards the agnatic counterpart of that kin.

| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| *I. The generation of Ego's mother* | | |
| Mo | Mama | Mama |
| MoBr | Data | Marume |
| MoSi | Mama | Mamawacu |
| MoFaBrSo | Data | Marume |
| MoFaBrDa | Mama | Mamawacu |
| MoFaFaBrSoSo | Data | Marume |
| MoFaFaBrSoDa | Mama | Mamawacu |
| *II. The generation of Ego's maternal grandfather* | | |
| MoFa | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| MoFaBr | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| MoFaSi | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuru |
| *III. The generation of Ego's maternal great-grandfather* | | |
| MoFaFa | Sogokuru | Sogokuruza |
| MoFaFaBr | Sogokuru | Sogokuruza |
| MoFaFaSi | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuruza |

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| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| *IV. Ego's generation* | | |
| MoBrSo | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mubyarawanjye (one with with whom to beget-mine) |
| MoBrDa | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mubyarawanjye |
| MoFaBrSoSo | Name, nickname or Mwana | Mubyarawacu (one with whom to beget-our) |
| MoFaBrSoDa | Name, nickname or Mwana | Mubyarawacu |
| MoFaFaBrSoSoSo | Mwana | Mubyarawacu |
| MoFaFaBrSoSoDa | Mwana | Mubyarawacu[14] |

Ego's mother, who was the link between Ego and her descent group, was not a figure of authority to the same extent as Ego's father. Her children had to behave respectfully and obediently towards her, but as she was a wife of their father, they saw that she, like they themselves, had to submit to an authority in the home. Moreover, Ruanda placed a very high value on their children and they were more important for the father than his wife. Consequently the children knew that from their father's point of view their mother did not enjoy a status superior to their own. Consequently the mother-son and mother-daughter relations were usually free and affectionate. Very often the mother, when widowed and old, came and lived with one of her children, whereas the old widower frequently lived alone.

The relationship between Ego and his maternal uncle was one of extreme restraint. It was not avoidance: they spoke to each other and Ego came and called on him from time to time. These attitudes were not completely symmetrical: the uncle seemed to consider his nephews only as nuisances. For him they brought ill-luck and they were treated accordingly: they were not allowed to look into his granaries or to milk his cows, and they ate with the servants. The uncle seemed to do all he could to induce them to keep away. But they visited him because there they met his children with whom they were traditionally permitted to have very familiar relationships. The maternal uncle was afraid that Ego would have intercourse with his daughter and that her betrothal to somebody else would thereby be broken. He was also afraid that if Ego married her he would not easily obtain bride-wealth from his brother-in-law. All these reasons were understandable enough.

[14] We do not mention here the maternal half-siblings because they do not belong to their mother's descent group. They are referred to as *Mwanamama* (child of mother).

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### 3. EGO'S CROSS-LINE RELATIVES

602 The cross-line relatives of Ego are people who are socially recognized as related to him although they do not belong either to his parents' descent groups or to the category of his relatives by affinity.

[605] [609] In Ruanda, the category of cross-line relatives was limited to Ego's paternal cross-cousins, his maternal parallel cousins, their descendants, his sororal nephews and nieces, and their descendants.

Paternal cross-cousins did not belong to Ego's father's patrilineage since they were members of their own father's (FaSiHu of Ego) lineage. It could be said that they were agnates of FaSiHu who was himself an affine of Ego. It seems, however, that the link between Ego and his paternal cross-cousins was their mother (FaSi) and not their father (FaSiHu). This is why I do not include Ego's paternal cross-cousins among Ego's affines.

Maternal cross-cousins were not Ego's cross-line relatives because they were related to Ego as agnates of Ego's mother. On the contrary maternal parallel cousins of Ego were cross-line relatives of Ego's mother: her sororal nephews and nieces. Ego was not related to them through his MoSiHu but through his MoSi as the term of reference used by Ego indicates: child-of-my-maternal-aunt (*mwenemamawacu*). This is why I regard them as Ego's cross-line relatives.

604 Ego was related to his sororal nephews and nieces through his sister in spite of the fact that her children belonged to her husband's agnatic group.

● 601

| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| FaSiSo | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mubyarawanjye |
| FaSiDa | Muvandimwe | Mubyarawanjye |
| MoSiSo | Muvandimwe | Mwenemamawacu |
| MoSiDa | Muvandimwe | Mwenemamawacu |
| SiSo | Mwana | Mwishywawanjye |
| SiDa | Mwana | Mwishywawanjye |

605 Familiarity, jesting, erotic games without actual intercourse before marriage, were the relations of paternal cross-cousins (as well as maternal cross-cousins) of the opposite sex. The difference was that paternal cross-cousins had to assist each other and often [613] fought together in blood-feuds although, as they did not belong to the same inzu, they could not be killed in retaliation.

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was expected to be protective, but he had no authority over his sister's children unless bride-wealth had not been paid for her.

### 4. EGO'S AFFINES

Following *Notes and Queries*, I shall distinguish two classes among the relatives by marriage. First, those in which the affinal link is the first traced from Ego, i.e. kin of the spouse; secondly, those in which the kinship link is the first one traced, i.e. persons who have married kinsmen and kinswomen.[16]

I shall begin with the second class: spouses of members of Ego's patrilineage, of Ego's mother's patrilineage and their own agnatic relatives. Not all of these spouses were considered by Ruanda to be significantly related to Ego. They say, for instance, that the wife of the maternal uncle (MoBrWi) is just a stranger, whereas there was a particular code of behaviour laid down towards the wife of the paternal uncle (FaBrWi). Among affines I include, besides these spouses of Ego's consanguineal relatives, the consanguineal relatives of these spouses, such as DaHuFa, SoWiFa, &c.

#### (a) *The Spouses of Ego's Kin*

This is the nomenclature of the second class of Ego's affines.

| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| *I. The generation of Ego's father* | | |
| FaWi | Mama | Mukadata (wife of Fa) |
| FaBrWi | M_ma | Mukadatawacu (wife of FaBr) |
| FaSiHu | Name | Mugabo wa masenge (husband of FaSi) |
| MoSiHu | Name | Mugabo wa mamawacu (husband of MoSi) |
| *II. The generation of Ego's grandfather* | | |
| FaFaWi | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuru |
| MoFaWi | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuru |
| *III. Ego's generation* | | |
| BrWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu (wife-our) |
| BrWi (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Muramukazi wanjye |
| SiHu (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabowacu (husband-our) |
| SiHu (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Muramu wanjye |

[16] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 87.

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| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| FaBrDaHu (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| FaBrSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| FaSiSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| FaSiDaHu (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| MoSiSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| MoSiDaHu (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| MoBrDaHu (f.s.) | Name, Nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| MoBrSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| FaFaBrSoSoWi (m.s.) &c. | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| DaHuFa, DaHuMo, SoWiFa, SoWiMo | | Muwana wanjye |
| *IV. The generation of Ego's son.* | | |
| SoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawanjye (female-mine-through-marriage) |
| DaHu | Mwana | Mukwewanjye (. . . male . . .) |
| BrSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu (. . . our) |
| SiSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu (. . . our) |
| BrDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu (. . . our) |
| SiDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu (. . . our) |
| FaBrSoSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| FaBrSoDaHu &c. | Mwana | Mukwewacu |
| *V. The generation of Ego's grandchildren* | | |
| SoSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| SoDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu |
| DaDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu |
| DaSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| BrSoSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| SiSoSoWi &c. | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |

603

Grandparents by affinity were regarded in the same way as grandparents by consanguinity. Relations with them were symmetrically playful and familiar.

604

The two uncles by affinity (FaSiHu and MoSiHu) were treated with respect because they were older than their nephews and with sympathy in so far as their wives got along well with them. If they did not, the nephews tended to side with their aunts. The ideal behaviour, however, was to act towards the aunts' husband with rather more confidence than towards mere outsiders.

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604 The paternal uncle's wife (FaBrWi) was more deeply connected with Ego's inzu. She bore children who were Ego's parallel cousins; there was no incest taboo between her and Ego's father and if her husband died, she might become a wife of Ego's father. For all these reasons, respectful and almost filial behaviour towards her was expected from Ego.

835 For the affinal relatives of Ego's generation, the rule was quite simple. There was no incest taboo; there was on the contrary a privileged sexual partnership (as described earlier in connexion with the paternal cross-cousins) between a male Ego on the one hand and on the other the wives of his brothers, parallel cousins, and cross-cousins. And the same *mutatis mutandis* when Ego is female.

606 Between Ego and his daughter-in-law (SoWi) there was no incest prohibition, although there was between a female Ego and her son-in-law (her DaHu). This was rationalized by saying that the SoWi is for Ego a little spouse and not a daughter, whereas for the son-in-law, his wife's mother is his mother. As may be imagined the role of SoWi, 'daughter' and rival of her HuMo, was not an easy one as regards Ego and Ego's wife. Her ambivalent situation was reflected in her traditionally expected behaviour. She had to behave respectfully, obediently, and affectionately, as a daughter, towards her parents-in-law, and at the same time she was expected to assume almost an avoidance attitude: she was not allowed to pronounce their names nor even words which sounded similar.

Ego's daughter's husband was expected to conform to the same verbal taboos as regards his father-in-law (Ego) and his mother-in-law (Ego's wife). He was not allowed to eat at his parents-in-law's until his wife had had a child. Even then he never spoke if not invited to. After a certain period of time, however, when the marriage was stable and had produced a few children, relations eventually became freer, though they remained always rather reserved.

601 All other affines of generations following that of Ego were designated by the same term, even if they were not connected through his patrilineal descendents, DaDaHu for instance.

*(b) The kin of Ego's wife*

602 Let us now consider the other class of affines, that in which the affinal link is first traced from Ego. These are the consanguineal

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relatives of Ego's spouse among whom we have included the patrilineal kin of the spouse's mother. More exactly, in this total class of potential affines, the Ruanda chose a few of them who they considered as relatives of Ego because for one reason or another they had a certain role to play in his social or cultural life. The others had been neglected. It has been necessary in this case to distinguish between a male and a female Ego.

| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| *I. The first generation above Ego:* Male speaking | | |
| WiFa | Sogokuru | Databukwe (father through marriage) |
| WiMo | Nyogokuru | Mabukwe |
| WiFaBr | Sogokuru | Databukwe |
| WiFaSi | Nyogokuru | Mabukwe |
| WiMoBr | Sogokuru | Databukwe |
| WiFaFaBrSoSo | Sogokuru | Databukwe |
| &c. | | |
| Female speaking | | |
| HuFa | Sogokuru | Databukwe |
| HuMo | Nyogokuru | Mabukwe |
| HuFaBr | Sogokuru | Databukwe |
| HuFaSi | Nyogokuru | Mabukwe |
| HuMoBr | Sogokuru | Databukwe |
| HuFaFaBrSoSo | Sogokuru | Databukwe |
| *II. The second generation above Ego:* Male speaking | | |
| WiFaFa | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| WiFaFaBr | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| WiFaMo | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuru |
| WiMoFa | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| &c. | | |
| Female speaking | | |
| HuFaFa | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| HuFaFaBr | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| HuMoFa | Sogokuru | Sogokuru |
| HuFaMo | Nyogokuru | Nyogokuru |
| &c. | | |
| *III. Ego's generation:* Male speaking | | |
| WiSi | Name | Muramukaziwanjye |
| WiFaBrDa | Name | Muramukaziwanjye |
| WiMoSiDa | Name | Muramukaziwanjye |
| WiSiHu | Name | Musanzirewanjye |
| WiFaBrDaHu | Name | Musanzirewacu |
| WiMoSiDaHu | Name | Musanzirewacu |
| WiBr | Name | Muramuwanjye |
| WiBrWi | Name | Muramuwanjye |

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| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| WiFaBrSo | Name | Muramuwacu |
| WiMoSiSo | Name | Muramuwacu |
| WiFaSiSo | Name | Muramuwacu |
| WiFaSiDa | Name | Muramuwacu |
| WiMoBrSo | Name | Muramuwacu |
| WiMoBrDa | Name | Muramuwacu |
| **Female speaking** | | |
| HuBr | Name | Mugabowacu |
| HuSi | Name | Muramukaziwanjye |
| HuFaBrSo | Name | Mugabowacu |
| HuMoSiSo | Name | Mugabowacu |
| HuFaSiSo | Name | Mugabowacu |
| HuFaSiDa | Name | Mukebawanjye (my rival) |
| HuMoBrSo | Name | Mugabowacu |
| HuMoBrDa | Name | Mukebawanjye |
| HuMoSiDa | Name | Muramukaziwanjye |
| HuFaBrDa | Name | Muramukaziwanjye |
| HuWi | Name | Mukebawanjye |
| HuBrWi | Name | Mukebawacu (our rival) |
| HuFaBrSoWi | Name | Mukebawacu (our rival) |
| HuMoSiSoWi | Name | Mukebawacu (our rival) |

As has just been mentioned in connexion with the SoWi and the DaHu roles, Ego and his wife were expected to behave respectfully, with restraint as well as with affection towards their parents-in-law. This was reflected in the terminology. WiFa, WiMo, HuFa, HuMo were addressed by the term used for the grandparents. We know that Ego's conduct towards his grandparents was extremely familiar. He had to use the same term for in-laws and was not allowed to pronounce their name. As the preceding nomenclature indicates, the use of the same term of address was extended to all in-laws of the generation above Ego's one. There was again no distinction between the grandparents and great-grandparents who were patrilineal ascendents of the spouse and those who were only in the maternal line.

Ego's conduct towards his wife's relatives of the same generation depended mainly on the privileged sex partnership. The determination of those who could be partners was conditioned by the simple principle which assimilates a person to his siblings and parallel cousins. According to this, Ego could have sex relations with those who were assimilated to his wife: her sisters and her parallel cousins. The same applied to a female Ego: her privileged partners are thus her husband's brothers and parallel cousins.

We have indicated what was meant by a sexual privileged

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partnership among cross-cousins and that this was only one aspect of wider behaviour patterns of familiarity and joking. The relations between Ego and certain of his affines should be understood in the same sense.

These relations were reciprocal in the sense that the husband of Ego's partner was also the privileged partner of Ego's wife, as the two husbands had the same relationships of affinity with each other's wives. This reciprocity seemed essential to the working of the system, which otherwise would have been probably too frustrating. The case of the wife of Ego's wife's brother (WiBrWi) confirms this interpretation. Although she was quite unrelated to Ego, there was a kind of 'incest' taboo concerning any relation with her. There was a strict avoidance (Ego was not allowed to stay alone with his WiBrWi) and such a relation was considered to bring ill-luck not only to the partners but to the lineages concerned. The reason for that prohibition, I was told, was that the husband of WiBrWi, being the brother of Ego's wife, was prevented by the incest-taboo from having any reciprocal relations with her. It appears, however, that the common resentment of Ego and his WiBrWi against their common in-laws may have been such that these sanctions were not a sufficient deterrent.

These different patterns of behaviour were expressed in terminology. Ego referred by the same term to his wife's female parallel cousins and by another to her cross-cousins and male parallel cousins. There was also a special term to designate those who are husbands of privileged partners. A female Ego used terms in which similar distinctions appeared.

## 5. SOME COMMENTS ON KINSHIP PRINCIPLES IN RUANDA

### (a) *Analytical table of kinship terms*

The attention I have given and have still to give to kinship terminology rests on the assumption that the use of kinship terms indicates what aspects, among the many that could be stressed in a kinship system, have been actually emphasized in a particular society. Terminology indicates first the principles according to which, among the almost unlimited mass of possible relationships some have been given a name and are thus considered as social roles. Secondly, terminology shows the lines of cleavage according to which the totality of relationships have been separated in different classes.

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To investigate systematically the social significance of kinship terminology, some procedure should be adopted whereby every term is analysed from a set of relevant viewpoints. In order to do this we are setting them in the following table. The table recapitulates the sixty-one kinship terms mentioned in the preceding sections and for each of them gives eleven characteristics. In this choice I have followed closely the chapter 'Analysis of Kinship' in Murdock's *Social Structure*.[17]

| | | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [18]Sogo-kuru | a | dr | – | + | + | + | – | + | o | – | – | c |
| [18]Sogo-kuru | r | dr | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | c |
| Nyogo-kuru | a | dr | – | + | + | + | – | + | o | – | – | c |
| Nyogo-kuru | r | dr | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | – | – | c |
| Sogo-kuru-za | r | dr | + | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | c |
| Nyogo-kuru-za | r | dr | – | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | c |
| Isogo-kuru | r | dr | + | + | – | – | – | + | o | – | – | d |
| Data | a | e | + | + | – | + | o | + | – | – | o | c |
| Data | r | e | + | + | – | – | o | + | – | – | o | d |
| Mama | a | e | + | + | + | + | o | + | – | – | o | c |
| Mama | r | e | + | + | – | – | o | + | – | – | o | d |
| Data-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Ma-senge | r | ds | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Mama-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Ma-rume | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Maku-data-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | d |
| Mu-gabo-wa-ma-senge | r | ds | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-gabo-wa-mama-wacu | r | ds | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Data-bukwe | r | dr | + | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | c |
| Ma-bukwe | r | dr | + | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-vandimwe | a | dr | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | c |
| Mw-ene-data | r | ds | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-rumuna-wanjye | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | d |
| Mu-saza-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | d |
| Mu-kuru-wanjye | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | – | d |
| Mu-shiki-wanjye | r | ds | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | d |
| Mw-ene-datu-wacu | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-shiki-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | d |
| Mu-byara-wanjye | r | dr | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-byara-wacu | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-gore-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | o | + | – | + | o | d |
| Mu-gore-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | c |
| Mu-ramu-kazi-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-gabo-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | o | + | – | + | o | d |
| Mu-gabo-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | + | – | c |
| Mu-ramu-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | d |
| Mu-saza-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | d |
| M-wena-wacu | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Ba-mwana-wanjye | r | dr | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-ramu-wacu | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-sangire-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | d |

[17] Murdock, 1949, pp. 91-112. Quotations in the following paragraphs come from p. 98.

[18] *a* means address; *r* reference.

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| | | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mu-sanzire-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | + | – | c |
| Mu-keba-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | d |
| Mu-keba-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | c |
| Mw-ana | a | e | – | – | + | + | – | + | o | – | – | c |
| Mu-hungu-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | o | + | – | – | o | d |
| Mu-kobwa-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | o | + | – | – | o | d |
| Mu-kobwa-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | c |
| Mu-hungu-wacu | r | dr | + | + | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | c |
| Mu-sengeneza-wanjye | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | + | – | c |
| Mu-sengeneza-wacu | r | dr | + | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | – | c |
| Mu-kazana-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | d |
| Mu-kwe-wanjye | r | dr | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | d |
| Mu-kazana-wacu | r | dr | – | + | – | – | – | + | o | – | – | c |
| Mu-kwe-wacu | r | dr | – | + | – | – | – | + | o | – | – | c |
| Mw-uzukuru-wanjye | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Mw-uzukuru-wacu | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Mw-uzukuru-za | r | dr | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | c |
| Ubuvivi | r | e | – | – | – | – | + | + | o | – | – | c |
| Mw-ene-mama | r | ds | + | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | c |
| Mu-ka-data | r | ds | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | d |

1. Linguistic structure.
2. Denotes generation.
3. Denotes sex.
4. Denotes affinity and consanguinity.
5. Denotes lineality and collaterality.
6. Denotes bifurcation.
7. Denotes polarity.
8. Denotes age in generation.
9. Denotes speaker's sex.
10. Denotes decendence of link.
11. Range of application.

In the first vertical line the linguistic structure of the term is given. An elementary term (symbolized by 'e' in the table) is 'an irreducible word which cannot be analysed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings', a derivative term (symbolized by 'dr') is 'compounded from an elementary term and some other lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship meaning' and a descriptive term (symbolized by 'ds') 'combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative'.

In the second line a cross (+) indicates that the term is never applied to two individuals to different generations. The dash (–) points out that it can be so used.

The third characteristic is the sex of the person designated by the term. Again (+) indicates that the term is only applicable to males or females and (–) that it may be applied to persons of either sex.

A cross in the fourth line shows that the term may indicate certain individuals among both affinal and consanguineal relatives of Ego; a hyphen denotes that the term can be applied only either to affines or only to consanguineal kinsfolk. In the assessment of this characteristic, the patrilineal descent group of Ego's mother has been considered as a group of consanguineal relatives of Ego.

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In the following column (—) indicates that the term may be applied only to individuals who belong to the same direct line (people who either descend from one another or have all the same ascendants) or only to persons who are collaterals. For instance if the term A may be applied only to Ego's paternal uncle, Ego's paternal uncle's son, and Ego's paternal uncle's grandson, we say that it denotes only people of the same line. If the term B may be applied to Ego's paternal uncle and to Ego's paternal uncle's cousins, we may say that it denotes only collaterals. A (+) means that the term may be applied to a class of individuals, some of whom are collaterals and some belonging to the same line.

In the sixth line there is a cross for the terms which indicate the sex of the relative who is the link between Ego and the role designated by the term, and there is a hyphen for terms which do not denote the sex of the link. The symbol (o) means that there is no link. When there are several links, only the person directly connected to Ego has been considered. For instance if the same term denotes MoBrSo and MoSiSo but not FaBrSo and FaSiSo, only the direct link to Ego, i.e. Mo has been considered. Consequently in this case the term is bifurcate although it does neglect the sex of the second link: Br or Si.

There is polarity when the two participants in a relationship do not refer to each other by the same term. Consequently a (—) means that the term is used reciprocally by the two participants and a (+) that it is not.

The eighth characteristic concerns distinctions of age within the same generation. A hyphen indicates that the term may be used for the complete range of age variations within one generation; a cross means that it applies only to people of a definite age, absolute or relative, within the generation. The symbol (o) means that a term by definition could not denote age differences within a generation as it applies to different generations.

Next, the speaker's sex is considered. There is a dash for terms which may be used by males and females alike and a cross when they are used only by one of the sexes.

The tenth characteristic, as the sixth, is concerned with the person through whom kinship is traced. A dash indicates that the term applies as well if the link is deceased or living and a cross that it applies only when the connecting person is either alive or dead.

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The last column of the table indicates the range of application of the term: is it classificatory or denotative? Although the nine preceding characteristics are criteria of the range of application, I have considered as denotative not only the terms which have these nine characteristics, but those which show only characteristics 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, i.e. generation, sex, distinction between affinity and consanguinity, lineality and collaterality, bifurcation by sex of connecting relative.

If we sum up the different symbols in the vertical lines, we obtain for the sixty-one terms of the table (fifty-five terms of reference and six of address) the following results:

1. Linguistic structure: 6 elementary terms, 48 derivative, 7 descriptive.
2. 54 denote generation, 7 do not.
3. 43 denote sex of the relative, 18 do not.
4. 54 do not cover both affinal and consanguineal relative together and 7 do.
5. 45 do not denote a class of people including lineal and collateral relatives, 16 do.
6. 34 indicate the sex of the person through whom kinship is traced, 19 do not and in 8 cases the question does not arise as there is no link.
7. 50 terms indicate polarity, 11 do not.
8. 59 do not denote age within generation, 2 do, and in 7 cases they ignore age differences by definition.
9. The speaker's sex is indicated in 16 cases, it is not in 45.
10. There is no case in which it is indicated whether the link is living or dead. Thus, except for the 8 cases in which there is no connecting relative, 53 terms ignore that characteristic.
11. 41 terms are classificatory and 20 are denotative.

(*b*) *Concluding remarks*

Let me conclude this chapter with a few remarks on the Ruanda system of kinship and affinity. They are suggested by the previous description of kinship roles or by the table.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally and a lineage is a corporate group of agnates. But Ego does not feel that all others are strangers. He lives, as it were, in a cognatic as well as an agnatic world. For help in important questions, when it is necessary for him to assert his rights to be assisted, he turns to his patrilineal kinsmen, but in

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everyday life, when he needs only some slight service, some advice and sympathy, he asks for and receives it from his maternal relatives as easily as from his paternal ones. Moreover, in matters very important to him concerning playmates, sex partners, and marriageable girls, the two groups stand equal: taboo and tolerance apply to maternal as well as to agnatic cousins. Kinship terms, even terms of reference, used to denote the grandparents are the same in both lines.

If the descent groups tend, in many respects, to merge in a kind of cognatic structure, the distinction between affinity and consanguinity is more clearly maintained. Affines are often identified with their spouses who are Ego's kin, and in a situation subordinate to the latter's from the point of view of Ego (as for instance FaSiHu and MoSiHu), or they are considered only in connexion with privileged sexual access. The distinction between affinal and consanguineal relations is emphasized in terminology as only seven terms out of sixty-one denote both affinity and consanguinity relationships. Among the seven, there are five terms of address.

Generation is another focal point of attention in Ruanda kinship relationships. There are broad behaviour patterns expected from people in their relationships simply because they belong to the same or to different generations. Respect should be shown to the members of the generation immediately above, domination and protection are correct behaviour towards people of the generation immediately under Ego, a certain equality tends to prevail between people belonging to the same generation, and there is a great familiarity among those who belong to alternate generations. This is again clearly supported by kinship terminology: fifty-four terms apply only to people of the same generation, whereas only seven fail to denote the generation of the relative. On the other hand, very little attention is paid to age differences within one generation: two terms only denote them, whereas fifty-two do not (in the seven cases left the question does not arise).

In spite of the principle of assimilation of parallel cousins to siblings the distinction in terminology between lineal and collateral relatives is observed more often than would be expected. In forty-five terms, there is no merging and out of the sixteen cases of merging, it should be mentioned that there are six terms of address in which the failure to distinguish is less

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significant because terms of address are more likely to be classificatory. 602 601

Another important principle of cleavage among relatives is sex. Very rarely, as the preceding brief survey of the different kinship roles shows, is kinship behaviour the same towards relatives of both sexes. Out of our list of sixty-one terms, forty-three denote the sex of the relative. Further analysis indicates that what is important is sex in connexion with privileged relations. Terminologically, male parallel cousins of Ego's wife are lumped together with her cross-cousins, whereas her female parallel cousins are designated by another word. This is a case in which the principle of sexual privileged partnership has been more operative than other principles such as descent, &c. The eighteen terms ignoring sex denote relatives with whom Ego could not have sexual relations, either because they would be incestuous or because the difference of age would be too great. It could be argued that sex is not such an important principle in kinship as there are only sixteen terms which denote the speaker's sex and forty-five which do not. I do not think that this objection is a valid one, however, because when terms are not written by an anthropologist but are spoken—as they are meant to be when they are used in everyday life—it is clear to anybody whether the speaker is a man or a woman.

To sum up, the Ruanda kinship system seems to have evolved according to principles stressing the importance of generation and the predominance of an almost cognatic system over affinity, keeping a very clear distinction between lineal and collateral relatives and emphasizing sex especially when connected with privileged sexual access. 601

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and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

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quently, in domestic battles, the husband can vanquish the wife. He must, nevertheless, be on his guard if she becomes very angry. For, even though men (as superiors) are able to control their anger, women (as inferiors) are likely to lose their heads. She can take a knife and kill her husband, says the Hutu; she will poison her husband, says the Tutsi. Furthermore, women are regarded as less courageous than men in the presence of enemies; they are more easily discouraged when there is misfortune; they cry more easily; and they do not conceal their emotions. No attention whatever is paid to any evidence which might contradict the stereotype.

A man who is jealous of his wife's lovers is considered an imbecile. Particularly among the rich, a wife can show her fidelity to her husband's interests by going to bed with his superiors, if by this means she can calm the superior or obtain valuable information from him. Out of delicacy, the husband visits his neighbours when his superior comes to call. On the other hand, most family troubles are explained by the presumably unlimited capacity of women for jealousy. At marriage, a Rundikazi is supposed to be a virgin. Once she is married, it is said, she has great and constant need for sexual satisfaction. A man is privileged, if not obliged, to sleep with all his wives, the wives of his brothers and of his parallel cousins, his female cross-cousins, the wives of his male cross-cousins, the sisters and female cross- and parallel-cousins of his wife, and various other ladies. The kinship system is obviously a highly classificatory one. Nevertheless, men must discharge their sexual obligations in secret. If a husband finds his wife in bed with another man, he is morally obligated to beat his wife and to quarrel a little with the man. Far more serious, if a woman sees her husband entering the house of his sister-in-law, there will be no more peace for him at home. A woman, it was explained, is jealous of those with whom her husband sleeps, because the others will perhaps get presents out of him that she wants for herself, or perhaps one of the other women will speak against her to persuade her husband to divorce her. If there appear to be contradictions here, it is probably due to the lack of a truly Rundi perspective.

It is not for nothing, say the Rundi, that the wives of a polygamist are called *abakeba*, rivals.[11] Each woman watches every other wife—the presents she has received from her husband, the size of the property she has been given to cultivate and as an inheritance for her sons, the cows given for her household, the number of children she has, the number of nights the husband spends with her. To calumniate one's *abakeba*, to poison them, to quarrel with them, to give the husband *inzaratsi*—the potion that

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-